1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the Noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[TEXT Continues on Top of P. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch. After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no elder relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, sprawled out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

12 No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Courses of Study

872 During 1946 and 1947, primary schools (shotogakko) were established along lines of the old primary school, but with the Japanese nationalism and the emperor worship deleted. Beginning about April 1948, a new primary school system with six grades was instituted. Ideas of democracy were introduced to displace the Japanese ideal of the state.

The subjects (gakka) in this new primary school curriculum are: (1) Japanese, referred to as the "mother tongue (kokugo) or the "standard language" (futsu no go). This instruction includes the two Japanese syllabaries, hiragana and katakana and beginning instruction in Chinese characters (kanji). (2) Beginning English, (3) arithmetic and computation on the abacus, (4) a general introductory science course (rika), (5) an introductory social science course (shakkaika), including geography (chiri), history (rekishi), political science (seiji), and economics (keizai). The old ethics, duties, and obligations courses have been absorbed into the new social science course which also includes duties and obligations to one's family, friends, and associates, and the need for international friendship. During primary school, the subjects remain essentially the same with each year's courses increasing in difficulty.

In 1948, the three year junior high school (chūtogakko) was started. Two years were taken off the old primary course and one year added. In junior high school, some of the subjects become more specialised. Instruction in literature (hungaku) replaces the formal grammar of primary school. This course, which formerly emphasized Japanese literature, now includes selections from English, American, and world literature. A course in Ryukyuan history, hitherto untaught in the schools, has been added. All teaching is conducted in Japanese. There is no instruction in the Okinawan language, though it is still the language of the preschool child and of social life and daily talk. In adult speech, there is an effortless switch from the one language to the other. Instruction in English 5 or 6 hours a week continues.

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The present junior high school curriculum includes literature, social science, English, Okinawan history (in the 3rd year), algebra and geometry combined, music, general science, manual training, drawing, agriculture for the boys, and domestic science and sewing for the girls. There may be some instruction in carpentry and pottery making. Boys specialise in agriculture, girls in domestic science. Girls however receive some training in agriculture and boys in domestic science, mainly in cooking and mending.

873 There is a break between junior and senior high school (kōtōgakko). Entrance in senior high school is by examination, the severity of which seems to be governed by vacancies available. Senior high school is also a greater break from home life. The schools are fewer. In

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being.

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

[177]

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity.

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In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed.

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It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched.

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From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work).

4

Learning English

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The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realization

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555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

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194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

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[214] In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare.
[177]
876 A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasised too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

[4] It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first, soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

871 177 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults attended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today [191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 5% 872 of Taira's population.

346 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village, [871] where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be- [514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons [533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki &,Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions.

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds.

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity.

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings.

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school.

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools.

2:Maletzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest.

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters.

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved.

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them.

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden.

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen

CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE

W. P. Lebra

197 Introduction
177 Though Japanese is established as the official language of Okinawa, in practice its use is more limited than that of the indigenous language, Okinawan. Since only Japanese is used in the government, press, cinema, radio, schools, and among the leaders of public and professional life, an observer not in intimate contact with the people might easily gain the impression that the native language is dead or dying. Recently an American stationed on Okinawa expressed the opinion, "In the past decades they spoke their own language, Luchuan, but this has almost been forgotten since the Japanese took over late in the last century."[1] On the contrary, however, this [191] language is far from being dead or forgotten, and at the present time the majority of Okinawans may be said to be bilingual. In all communities which the authors studied and visited, Okinawan was found to be more widely used than Japanese. More significantly it has maintained itself as the language of the family in a majority of homes; consequently, most children do not learn to speak Japanese until they commence formal schooling. Fortunately for them this task is somewhat simplified by the close affinity between Okinawan and Japanese.

197 Relationship
The indigenous speech of Okinawa is, properly speaking, a dialect of Ryukyuan, which constitutes a sister language to Japanese in the Ryukyuan-Japanese language family. These two languages (Ryukyuan and Japanese) are not mutually intelligible although their morphological, phonological, and syntactic correspondence clearly indicates a common parentage. The degree of their kinship frequently has been likened to that of French and Italian. Thus far they stand alone in that a relationship between them and any other language has not been established; yet, the possibility of such a relationship with Korean and Altaic (Tungus-Manchu, Mongol, and Turkic) has been postulated by a number of scholars and seems the most likely possibility.

Areally this Ryukyuan-Japanese language family extends from Hokkaido in the north to the Yaeyama island group in the south. Ryukyuan is found in the area from Amami Oshima to Yaeyama, while Japanese occupies the area north of Amami. Within these two speech regions there exist many dialects, and people from widely separated places would often find communication difficult, if not impossible, were it not for the teaching of a standard speech, the dialect of the Tokyo area, in all the schools. Today this standard language ('hyōjungo') is the lingua franca for those travelling about or in contact with persons outside their dialect group.

Dialect boundaries within the Ryukyuan speech region have yet to be precisely determined. The line of demarcation spearating Ryukyuan from Japanese is itself rather arbitrary, for the dialect of Amami Oshima shares nearly as many features with the dialect of Kagoshima-ken as it does with that of Okinawa. Miyanaga, who has spent many years studying and recording Ryukyuan, recognizes four main dialects coinciding with the four main island clusters,

[1] Major General David A. D. Ogden, 1954, p. 45.

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology. 194 177

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre-school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt. 191 178 177 621 [871] [66]

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese resolves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations calling for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic. 191 829 177

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local language is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 191 178

(mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okinawans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and virtually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigenous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inextricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government initiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becoming a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

by clinging to the native speech. Naturally it became impossible for a student to obtain a higher education or for any Okinawan to secure a government position without an adequate mastery of Japanese. A good knowledge of Japanese became the first prerequisite for those who wished to improve their status. 191 177 554

Nearly all children in the rural areas and perhaps a majority of those in the urban areas first learn to speak Japanese when they enter school. It would seem that the main task of the elementary schools is to provide the students with an adequate knowledge of Japanese. On Okinawa as in all schools throughout the areas occupied by the Japanese, a standard language is taught; for the Okinawan child this means learning a new language, while for the child in Japan it means learning at the most a new dialect. Obviously a sixth-grade child on Okinawa will not have a proficiency in Japanese comparable to a sixth-grader in Japan. A recent testing of Naha and Tokyo school children indicated that the Okinawan children were far behind in nearly every subject. One informant, an urbanite who had lived for a time in Japan and rather prided himself on his Japanese, remarked that this clearly indicated the deterioration of the schools in the post-war period. When it was pointed out that this more likely reflected a lower educational attainment due to a language handicap, he readily agreed, and subsequent discussion revealed that a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken in his home. In this case the siblings, who had received nigh-school educations, used Japanese to one another but spoke only Okinawan to their mother, and the child of the house heard mostly Okinawan from her elders! A Ryukyuan scholar now holding a position in a large Japanese university informed the author that most high-school students are very hesitant about their Japanese and fear making a mistake. When this person first came to Japan after winning a scholarship to a higher school, he was startled by the fluency of the Japanese children! It should be noted that the post-war addition of English to the elementary school curriculum (from the 4th year on) serves only to impose another linguistic burden on the Okinawan child. Grade-school children who had studied English were completely unable to understand the simplest printed phrases; mastery was usually limited to counting from one to ten and reciting the alphabet as far as H without error, though the children can hardly be blamed, considering the texts and teaching level. The chief drawback to the texts is the transcription of English sounds in the Japanese syllabary; thus, a child is taught to pronounce ball as "booru", Smith as "sumisu", here as "hiya", etc. A friend who sat in on a class in English related that had he not been forearmed with a copy of the text and the knowledge that the class was studying English he would never have recognized the subject matter. 191 177 871

In the greater Naha area, which serves as the cultural as well as the administrative and commercial center of the island, the use of Japanese is far more common than elsewhere. Prior to the war there was a sizeable Japanese community here, and from Naha things Japanese have diffused into the countryside. However, the Naha informant's home where a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken was not an atypical one, and this can readily be attested to by visiting the playground of any elementary school in Naha and listening to the speech of children. It may be expected that the post-war addition of three years of junior high school to the compulsory education period will do much to further the advance of Japanese. 191 177 [871]

212 177 829 [579] Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should [538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 177 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system, the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early [114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 191 177 178 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home, and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language, Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 197 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 198 877 198

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 198 197

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 198 [435] [464]